

# The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, Editor.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

EMILY ROBINSON, Publishing Agent.

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J. HUDSON, PRINTER.

## THE BUGLE.

From the National Era.

### SPEECH

HON. CHAS. SUMNER, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

ON HIS MOTION

TO REPEAL THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following is the conclusion of Mr. Sumner's speech on the Fugitive law.

Sir, I might here stop. It is enough in this place and on this occasion to show the unconstitutionality of this enactment. Your duty commences at once. All legislation hostile to the fundamental law of the land should be repealed without delay. But the argument is not yet exhausted. Even if this Act could claim any validity or apology under the Constitution, which it cannot, it lacks that essential support in the Public Conscience of the States, where it is to be enforced, which is the life of all law, and without which any law must become a dead letter.

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUTLEDGE] was right, when, at the beginning of the session, he pointedly said that a law which could be enforced only by the bayonet, was no law. Sir, it is idle to suppose that an act of Congress becomes effective, merely by compliance with the forms of legislation. Something more is necessary. The Act must be in harmony with the prevailing public sentiment of the community upon which it bears. Of course, I do not suggest that the cordial support of every man of every small locality is necessary; but I do mean that the public feelings, the public convictions, the public conscience, must not be touched, wounded, lacerated, by every endeavor to enforce it. With all these it must be in harmony, that, like other laws, by which property, liberty, and life are guarded, it may be administered by the ordinary process of the courts, without jeopardizing the public peace or shocking good men. If this be true as a general rule—if the public support and sympathy be essential to the life of all law, this is especially the case in an enactment which concerns the important and sensitive rights of Personal Liberty. In conformity with this principle the Legislature of Massachusetts, by formal resolution, in 1850, with singular unanimity, declared:

"We hold it to be the duty of Congress to pass such laws only in regard thereto as will be maintained by the sentiments of the Free States, where such laws are to be enforced."

The duty of consulting these sentiments was recognized by Washington. While President of the United States, at the close of his Administration, he sought to recover a slave, who had fled to New Hampshire—his autograph letter to Mr. Whipple, the Collector at Portsmouth, dated at Philadelphia, 28th November, 1793, which I now hold in my hand, and which has never before been the light, after describing the fugitive, and particularly expressing the desire of "her mistress," Mrs. Washington, for her return, employs the following decisive language:

"I do not mean, however, by this request, that such violent measures should be used as would excite a mob or riot, which might be the case if she was adherents, or even unkind sensations in the minds of well-disposed citizens. Rather than either of these should happen, I would forego her services altogether; and the example also, which is of infinite more importance."

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Mr. Whipple, in his reply, dated at Portsmouth, December 22, 1793, an autograph copy of which I have, recognises the rule of Washington:

"I will now, sir, agreeably to your desire, send her to Alexandria, if it be practicable without the consequences which you expect—that of exciting a riot or mob, or creating unkind sensations in the minds of well-disposed persons. The first cannot be calculated here; and the second will be governed by the popular opinion of the moment, or the circumstances that may arise in the transaction. The latter may be sought into and judged of by conversing with such persons without discovering the occasion. So far as I have had opportunity, I perceive that different sentiments are entertained on this subject."

The fugitive never was returned; but lived in freedom to a good old age, down to a very recent period, a monument of the just forbearance of him whom we truly call the Father of his Country. It is true that he sought her return. This we must regret, and find its apology. He was at the time a slaveholder. Though often with various degrees of force expressing himself against slavery, and promising his suffrage for its abolition, he did not see this wrong as he saw it at the close of life, in the illumination of another sphere. From this act of Washington, still swayed by the policy of the world, I appeal to Washington writing his will. From Washington on earth I appeal to Washington in Heaven. Seek not by his name to

justify any such effort. His death is above his life. His last testament cancels his authority as a slaveholder. However he may have appeared before man, he came into the presence of God only as the liberator of his slaves. Grateful for this example, I am grateful also, that while a slaveholder and seeking the return of a fugitive, he has left a monument record of a rule of conduct which, if adopted by his country, will make Slave-Hunting impossible. The chances of a riot or mob, or "even money" sensations among well-disposed persons," are to prevent any such pursuit.

Sir, the existing Slave Act cannot be enforced without violating the precept of Washington. Not merely "unhappy sensations of well-disposed persons," but rage, tumult, commotion, mob, riot, violence, death, gush from its fatal overflowing fountains;

—hoc force derivata clades  
In patriam populumque fluxit.

Not a case occurs without endangering the public peace. Workmen are violently dragged from employments to which they are wedded by years of successful labor; husbands are ravished from their wives, and parents from children. Everywhere there is disturbance; at Detroit, Buffalo, Harrisburgh, Syracuse, Philadelphia, New York, Boston. At Buffalo the fugitive was cruelly knocked by a log of wood against a red-hot stove, and his neck wound while the blood still oozed from his wounded head. At Syracuse he was rescued by a sudden mob; so also at Boston. At Harrisburgh the fugitive was shot; at Christina the Slave-Hunter was shot. At New York unprecedented excitement, always with uncertain consequences, has attended every case. Again at Boston a fugitive, according to the received report, was first basely seized under pretext that he was a criminal; arrested only after a deadly struggle; guarded by officers who acted in violation of the laws of the State; tried in a Court house surrounded by chains contrary to the common law; finally surrendered to Slavery by tramping on the criminal process of the State, under an escort in violation again of the laws of the State, while the pulpit trembled and the whole people, not merely "uneasy," but swelling with suppressed indignation, for the sake of order and tranquility, without violence witnessed the shameful catastrophe.

With every attempt to administer the Slave Act, constantly becomes more revolting, particularly in its influence on the agents it enlists. Pious cannot be touched without deilement, and all who lead themselves to this work seem at once and unconsciously to lose the better part of man. The spirit of the law passes into them, as the devils enter the swine. Upright commissioners, the mere mushrooms of courts, vie and revie with each other. Now by indecent speed, now by harshness of manner, now by a denial of evidence, now by crippling the defence, and now by open glaring wrong, they make the odious Act yet more odious. Clemency, grace, and justice, die in its presence. All this is observed by the world. Not a case occurs which does not harrow the souls of good men, and bring tears of sympathy to the eyes, also—those other tears which "patriots shed over dying laws."

Sir, I shall speak frankly. If there be an exception to this feeling, it will be found chiefly with a peculiar class. It is a sorry fact that the "mercantile interest," in its unpardonable selfishness, twice in English history, frowned upon the endeavors to suppress the atrocity of African Slavery; that it sought to baffle Wilberforce's great effort for the abolition of the African slave trade; and that, by a sordid compromise, at the formation of our Constitution, it exempted the same detested, Heaven-defying traffic from American judgment. And now representatives of this "interest," forgetful that commerce is the child of Freedom, join in hunting the Slave. But the great heart of the people recoils from this enactment. It palpitates for the fugitive, and rejoices in his escape. Sir, I am telling you facts. The literature of the age is all on his side. The songs, more potent than laws, are for him. The poets, with voices of melody, are for Freedom. Who could sing for Slavery?

They who make the permanent opinion of the country, who mould our youth, whose words, dropped into the soul, are the germs of character, supplicate for the Slave. And now, sir, behold a law and heavenly ally. A woman, inspired by Christian genius, carries the like another Joan of Arc, and with marvelous power sweeps the chords of the popular heart. Now melting to tears, and now inspiring to rage, her work everywhere touches the conscience, and makes the Slave-Hunter more hateful. In a brief period, nearly 100,000 copies of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have been already circulated. But this extraordinary and sudden success—surpassing all other instances in the records of literature—cannot be regarded merely as the triumph of genius. Higher far than this, it is the testimony of the people, by an unprecedented act, against the Fugitive Slave Bill.

These things I dwell upon as the incentives and tokens of an existing public sentiment, which renders this Act practically inoperative, except as a tremendous engine of terror. Sir, the sentiment is just. Even in the lands of slavery, the slave-trader is loathed as an ignominious character, from whom the countenance is turned away; and can the Slave-Hunter be more regarded while pursuing his prey in a land of freedom? In early Europe, in barbarous days, while Slavery prevailed, a Hunting Master, *nach jager Herr*, as the Germans called him, was held in aversion. Nor was this all. The fugitive was welcomed in the cities, and protected against the Hunter. Sometimes vengeance awaited the pursuer. Down to this day, at Revel, now a Russian city, a sword is proudly preserved with which a Hunting Baron was beheaded, who, in violating the municipal rights of this place, seized a fugitive slave. Hostile to this Act as our public sentiment may be, it exhibits no trophy like this. The State laws of Massachusetts have been violated in the seizure of a fugitive slave; but no sword like that of Revel, now hangs at Boston.

I have said, sir, that this sentiment is just. And is it not? Every escape from Slavery necessarily and instinctively awakens the regard of all who love Freedom. The endeavor though unsuccessful, reveals courage, manhood, character. No story is read with more interest than that of our own Lafayette, when, aided by a Gallant South Carolinian, in defiance of the despotic ordinances of Austria, kindred to our Slave Act he strove to escape from the bondage of Quetzacoatl.

Literature passes with exultation over the struggles of Corcoran, the great Scindian, while a slave in Algiers, to regain the liberty for which he says, in his immortal work, "we ought to risk life itself. Slavery being the greatest evil that can fall to the lot of man." Science, in all her manifold triumphs, throbs with delight and pride, that Arago, the astronomer and philosopher—devoted republican also—was redeemed from barbarous Slavery to become one of her greatest sons. Religion rejoices serenely, with joy unspeakable, in the final escape of Vincent de Paul. Exposed in the public square of Tunis to the inspection of the traffickers in human flesh, this illustrious Frenchman, was subjected to every violence of treatment, like a horse, compelled to open his mouth, to show his teeth, to trot, to run, to exhibit his strength in lifting burdens, and then, like a horse, legally sold in market overt. Passing from master to master, after a protracted servitude, he achieved his freedom, and, regaining France, commenced that resplendent career of charity by which he is placed among the great names of Christendom. Princes and orators have lavished panegyrics upon this fugitive slave; and the Catholic Church in homage to his extraordinary virtues, has introduced him into the company of saints.

Less by genius or eminent services, than by their sufferings, do the fugitive slaves of our country now commend themselves. For them every sentiment of humanity is aroused;

— "Who could refrain  
That had a heart to love, and in that heart  
Courage to make his love known?"

Rule and ignorant they may be; but in their very efforts for Freedom, they claim kindred with all that is noble in the Past. They are among the heroes in our age. Romance has no stories of more thrilling interest than theirs. Classical antiquity has preserved no examples of adventurous trial more worthy of renown. Among them are men whose names will be treasured in the annals of their race. By the eloquent voice they have already done much to make their wrongs known, and to secure the respect of the world. History will soon lend them her avenging pen. Proscribed by you during life, they will proscribe you through all time. Sir, already judgment is beginning. A righteous public sentiment palsies your enactment.

And now, sir, let us review the field over which we have passed. We have seen that any compromise, finally closing the discussion of Slavery under the Constitution, is tyrannical, absurd, and impotent; that Slavery can exist only by virtue of positive law, and as it has no such positive support in the Constitution it cannot exist within the National jurisdiction; that the Constitution nowhere recognises property in man, and that according to its true interpretation, Freedom and not Slavery is national, while Slavery and not Freedom is sectional; that, in this spirit, the National Government was first organized under Washington, himself an Abolitionist, surrounded by Abolitionists, while the whole country, by its Church, its Colleges, its Literature, and all its best voices, was united against Slavery, and the national flag at that time nowhere within the National Territory covered a single slave; still further that the National Government is a Government of delegated powers, and as among these there is no power to support Slavery, this institution cannot be national, nor can Congress in any way legislate in its behalf; and, finally, that the establishment of this principle is the true way of peace and safety for the Republic. Considering next the provision for the surrender of fugitives from labor, we have seen that it was not one of the original compromises of the Constitution; that it was introduced tardily and with hesitation, and adopted with little discussion, and then for a long period after was regarded with comparative indifference; that the recent Slave Act, though many times unconstitutional, is especially so on two grounds—first, as a usurpation of Congress of powers not granted by the Constitution, and an infraction of rights secured to the States; and secondly, as a denial of Trial by Jury, in a question of Personal Liberty and a suit at common law; that its glaring unconstitutionality finds a prototype in the British Stamp Act, which our fathers refused to obey as unconstitutional on two parallel grounds—first, because it was a usurpation by Parliament of powers not belonging to it under the British Constitution and an infraction of rights belonging to the Colonies; and secondly, because it was a denial of Trial by Jury in certain cases of property; that its liberty is far above property, so is the outrage perpetrated by the American Congress far above that perpetrated by the British Parliament; and, finally, that the Slave Act has not that support in the public sentiment of the States where it is to be executed, which is the life of all law, and which prudence and the precept of Washington require.

Sir, thus far I have arrayed the objections to this Act, and the false interpretations out of which it has sprung. But I am asked what I offer as a substitute for the legislation which I denounce. Freely I will answer.—It is to be found in a correct appreciation of the provisions of the Constitution, under which this discussion occurs. Look at it in the double light of reason and of Freedom,

and we cannot mistake the exact extent of its requirements. Here is the provision:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

From the very language employed it is obvious that this is merely a compact between the States with a prohibition on the States, conferring no power on the nation. In its natural significance it is a compact. According to the examples of other countries, and the principles of jurisprudence, it is a compact. All arrangements for the extradition of fugitives have been customarily compacts. Except under the express obligations of treaty, no nation is bound to surrender fugitives. Especially has this been the case with fugitives for Freedom. In medieval Europe, cities refused to recognise this obligation in favor of persons even under the same National Government. In 1331, while the Netherlands and Spain were united under Charles V., the Supreme Council of Malchin rejected an application from Spain for the surrender of a fugitive slave. By express compact alone could this be secured. But the provision of the Constitution was borrowed from the Ordinance of the Northwest Territory, which is expressly declared to be a compact; and this Ordinance, finally drawn by Nathan Dane, was again borrowed in its distinctive features from the early institutions of Massachusetts, among which, as far back as 1633, was a compact of like nature with other New England States. Thus this provision is a compact in language, in nature, in its whole history; as we have already seen it is a compact, according to the intentions of our Fathers and the genius of our institutions.

As a compact its execution depends solely upon the States, without any intervention of the Nation. Each State, in the exercise of its own judgment, will determine for itself the precise extent of the obligations assumed. As a compact in derogation of Freedom, and shunning any meaning, not clearly obvious, which takes away important personal rights, mindful that the parties to whom it is applicable are regarded as "persons," of course with all the rights of "persons" under the Constitution; and especially mindful of the vigorous maxim of the common law, that he is cruel and impious who does not always favor Freedom. With this key the true interpretation is easy.

Briefly, the States are prohibited from any "law or regulation" by which the fugitive may be discharged, and on the establishment of the claim to his service, he is to be delivered up. But the mode by which the claim is to be tried and determined is not specified. All this is obviously within the control of each State. It may be done by virtue of just legislation, in which event any legislature, justly careful of personal liberty, would surround the fugitive with every shield of the law and Constitution. But such legislation may not be necessary. The whole proceeding, without any express legislation, may be left to the ancient and authentic forms of the common law, familiar to the framers of the Constitution and ample for the occasion.

If the fugitive be seized without process, he will be entitled at once to his writ de *Habeas Corpus*, while the master, resorting to the writ de *Natis Habendo*—each writ requiring Trial by Jury. If from ignorance or lack of employment these processes have slumbered in our country, still they belong to the great arsenal of the common law, and continue, like other ancient writs, *langum gladium in vagina*, ready to be employed at the first necessity. But in any event and in either alternative the proceedings would be by "suit at common law," with Trial by Jury; and it would be the solemn duty of the court, according to all the forms and proper delays of common law, to try the case on the evidence; to advise, and especially to require stringent proof, by competent witnesses under cross-examination, that the person claimed was held to service; that his service was due to the claimant; that he had escaped from the State where such labor was due; and also proof of the laws of the State under which he was held. Still further, to the Courts of each State must belong the determination of the question, to what class of persons, according to just rules of interpretation, the phrase "persons held to service or labor" is strictly applicable.

Such is this much-debated provision. The Slave States, at the formation of the Constitution, did not propose, as in the cases of Naturalization and Bankruptcy, to empower the National Government to establish an *unlawful rule* for the rendition of fugitives from labor, throughout the United States; they did not ask the National Government to charge itself in any way with this service; they did not venture to offend the country, and particularly the Northern States, by any such assertion of a hateful right. They were content under the sanction of compact, to leave it to the public sentiment of States. There, I insist it shall remain.

Mr. President, I have occupied much time; but the great subject still stretches before me. There is yet another point which I should not leave untouched, and which justly belongs to the close. The Slave Act violates the Constitution and shocks the Public Conscience. With modesty and yet with firmness let me add, sir, it offends against the Divine Law. No such enactment can be entitled to support. As the throne of God is above every earthly throne, so are his laws and statutes above all the laws and statutes of man. To question these is to question God himself. But to assume that human laws are beyond question is to claim for their fallible authors infallibility. To assume that they are always in conformity with those of God is presumptuously and impudently to exalt man to an equality with God. Clearly human laws are not always in such conformity; nor can they ever be beyond question

by each individual. Where the conflict is open, as if Congress should command the perpetration of murder, the office of conscience as final arbiter is undisputed. But in every conflict the same Queenly office is theirs. By no earthly power can she be dethroned. Each person, after anxious examination, without haste, without passion, solemnly for himself must decide this great controversy. Any other rule attributes infallibility to human laws, places them beyond any question, and degrades all men to an unthinking passive obedience.

According to St. Augustine, an unjust law does not appear to be a law; *lex est non videtur quæ iusta non fuerit*; and the great fathers of the Church, while adopting these words, declare openly that these laws are not binding. Sometimes they are called "abuses," and not laws; sometimes "violences," and not laws. And here again the conscience of each person is the final arbiter. But this lofty principle is not confined to the Church. A master of philosophy in early Europe, a name of intellectual renown, the eloquent Abelard, in Latin verses addressed to his son, has clearly expressed the universal injunction:

Jussa protestatis terrenis discedenda  
Cœlestis tibi mox pericula scias.  
Signis divinis jubet contraria jussa  
Te contra Dominum pactio nulla trahat.

The mandates of an earthly power may be discussed; these of Heaven must be at once performed; nor can any agreement constrain us against God. Such is the rule of morals. Such, also, by the lips of judges and sages, has been the proud declaration of the English law, whence our own is derived. In this conviction patriots have fearlessly braved unjust commands, and martyrs have died.

And now, sir, the rule is commended to us. The good citizen, as he thinks of the shivering fugitive, guilty of no crime, pursued, hunted down like a beast, while praying for Christian help and deliverance, and as he reads the requirement of this act, is filled with horror. Here is a despotic mandate, "to aid in the prompt and efficient execution of this law." Again let me speak frankly. Not rashly would I set myself against any provision of law. This heavy responsibility I would not lightly assume. But here the path of duty is clear. By the Supreme Law, which commands me to do no injustice, by the comprehensive Christian Law of Brotherhood, by the Constitution which I have sworn to support, I am bound to disobey this act. Never, in any capacity, can I render voluntary aid in its execution. Pains and penalties I can endure; but this great wrong I cannot do. "I cannot obey; but I can suffer," was the exclamation of the author of *Pilgrim's Progress*, when imprisoned for disobedience to an earthly statute. Better suffer injustice than do it. Better be the victim than the instrument of wrong. Better be even the poor slave, returned to bondage, than the unhappy Commissioner.

There is, sir, an incident in history, which suggests a parallel, and affords a fidelity. Under the triumphant exertions of that Apostle Jesus, St. Francis Xavier, large numbers of the Japanese, amounting to as many as two hundred thousand—among whom were princes, generals, and the flower of the nobility—were converted to Christianity. Afterwards, amidst the frenzy of civil war, religious persecutions arose, and the penalty of death was denounced against all who refused to trample upon the dignity of the Redeemer. This was the Pagan law of a Pagan land. But the delighted historian records that scarcely one from the multitude of converts was guilty of this apostasy. The law of man was set at naught. Imprisonment, torture, death, were preferred. Thus did this people refuse to trample on the pointed image. Sir, multitudes among us will not be less steadfast in refusing to trample on the living image of their Redeemer.

Finally, sir, for the sake of peace and tranquility, cease to shock the Public Conscience; for the sake of the Constitution, cease to exert a power nowhere granted, and in defiance of rights expressly secured. Leave this question where it was left by our fathers, at the formation of our National Government, in the absolute control of the States, the appointed guardians of Personal Liberty. Repeal this enactment. Let its terrors no longer rage through the land. Mindful of the loss which it pursues, in the name of charity, in the name of the Constitution, repeal this enactment, totally and without delay. Be inspired by the example of Washington. Be admonished by the words of Oriental Piety—"Beware of the groans of the wounded souls. Oppress not to the utmost a single heart; for a solitary sigh has power to overturn a whole world."

### OFFICE OHIO AND PA. R. R. COMPANY,

Pittsburgh, Sept. 2nd, 1852.

Receipts of the Ohio and Pennsylvania

Rail-road in August, 1852.

From Passengers, \$23,827 01

" Freight, 8,611 21

" Mail service, 1,044 45

Total, \$33,482 70

Which is an increase of 32 per cent. over the receipts in July. The number of Passengers carried in August, was 25,305.

Pitts. Gazette.

### Breadful State of Affairs in the Old Dominion.

For some time there have been mysterious hints uttered in the Virginia papers concerning a lack of proper discipline among those favored beings who are enjoying the benefits of that beneficent institution called slavery. The following sad account is taken from the *Fredericksburgh Herald*:

"It is useless to disguise the fact, its truth is undeniable, that a greater degree of insubordination has been manifested by the

negro population, within the last few months, than at any previous period in our history as a State. Our exchanges from all quarters of Virginia come to us freighted with accounts of attacks of negroes on their masters or overseers, and a general laxity of punishment seems to pervade the length and breadth of the Old Dominion. And not only is it abroad that the spirit of mischief seems brewing, but even here, we might cite several notable instances that have been named to us.

"We have heard of negroes who refused to be chastised by overseers, and who have gone so far as to resist. Kitchen servants, who teach their children that no such relative position as master and slave ought of right to exist, and that henceforth the term is to be repudiated, and instead of *master* it is to be *Mr.* And instead of their offspring applying the terms heretofore known as father and mother among the blacks, it is to be *pa and ma!* This might be ludicrous to comment upon, but it shows the progressiveness of the times, and develops a feeling among the colored population which has never before been known to exist.

"We conceive it to be time that all parties understood each other upon this subject, and while we should object to anything which might smack of heartless severity, yet personal safety may demand some abridgement of the extended privileges which are now allowed to the colored population. It is now a debatable point as to which color shall use the sidewalk, and which give way—a point that we think had better be settled at once. Let the public see to these matters in time, or great severity will be required after a time, while a little wholesome restriction just now will obviate its necessity and application then."

### New Postage Law.

We publish to day the law regulating the transmission of printed matter through the mails, which has been enacted by Congress, and is to go into operation on the 20th of September inst. The substantial provisions of the law are—

Newspapers, periodicals, unsent circulars, &c., weighing not over three ounces to pay one cent each, to any part of the United States, or half that rate, where paid quarterly or yearly, in advance. Newspapers, &c., weighing not over one and a half ounces, half the above rates, when circulated within the state of publication. Newspapers, papers and pamphlets of not more than 16 pages, 8vo., in packages of not less than eight ounces to one address, to be charged half cent an ounce, though calculated by separate pieces, the postage may amount to none.

Postage on all transient matter to be prepaid, or charged double.

Books, bound, or unbound, of not more than four pounds each, one cent per ounce, under three thousand miles, and two cents over that distance.— Fifty per cent. to be added where not prepaid.

Weekly newspapers free in the county of publication.

Bills for newspapers, and receipts for money therefor, may be enclosed in subscribers' papers.

Exchanges between newspaper publishers, free.

Newspapers, &c., to be so enclosed that their character can be determined without removing the wrapper—to have nothing written or printed on the paper or wrapper beyond the direction, and to contain no enclosure other than the bills or receipts before mentioned.

### Anti-Slavery in the Theatre.

From the True Democrat.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin," has been dramatized, and draws nightly, large houses at the National of New York.

The representation is gotten up "well" and the New York Herald declares that it is received with rounds of applause. "Negro Traders" it says "with their long whips, cut and slash their poor slaves about the stage for mere pastime, and a gang of poor wretches, handcuffed to a chain which holds them all in maddening order, two by two, are thrashed like cattle to quicken their pace. Uncle Tom is scourged by the trader, who has bought him, for whining" at his bad luck. A reward is posted up, offering four hundred dollars for the runaway, Edward Wilmet, (who, as well as his wife, is nearly white,) the reward to be paid upon this recovery, or upon the proof that he has been killed." But Wilmet shoots down his pursuers in real Christiana style, as fast as they come, and after many marvellous escapes, and many fine ranting abolition speeches, (generally preceding his dead shots,) he is liberated as we have described.

And this is received with rounds of applause in New York nightly. How the play is written we cannot say; what its mode of action we are unable to determine; but the plot of Mrs. Stowe is followed, except that Uncle Tom and Aunt Chloe are set free.

Strange, is it not? A few years since and the crowd at the National would have mobbed an anti-slavery speaker. Now it cheers—"rounds of applause" we are told follow the representation of the play nightly, and, at the most popular theatre in New York, no play has had such a run as *Uncle Tom*.

The New York Herald says:—"We would advise all concerned, to drop the play of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at once and forever. The thing is but taste—is not according to good faith in the Constitution, or consistent with either of the two Baltimore platforms; and is calculated, if persisted in, to become a firebrand of the most dangerous character to the peace of the whole country."



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## THE BUGLE.

## ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

Adopted by the Ohio Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, held in Salem, Columbiana county, Ohio, by adjournment, from the 5th to the 7th of the Ninth month, inclusive, 1852.

Assembled in obedience to our convictions of duty, to take into serious consideration the moral, social and religious condition of the human family and the obligations resulting therefrom, and having felt it to be right to form an association for the purpose of promoting pure and undiluted religion throughout the world and aiding each other in the search for truth, we are constrained to lay before the public an exposition of our views in relation to some of the topics that have claimed our attention.

And, first of all, we desire to acknowledge our dependence upon the God who hath created us and all men in his own image and likeness, who has endowed us with reason and conscience, who has allied us to himself through the sense of individual responsibility and the hopes of an immortal life, and who has written in the very elements of our being the laws upon obedience to which depends our present and future welfare. We rely upon his Spirit to guide, upon his arm to strengthen, and his infinite love to watch over us in every vicissitude of life. We confess before the world the sacred obligation that rests upon us to love him with all our hearts, and to evidence that love in works of charity and beneficence toward each other and all men, and especially toward the poor, the unfortunate and the oppressed of whatever caste or clime. We recognize in the precepts and examples of Jesus Christ, the highest and purest emanation of the Divinity that the world has ever seen, and we believe that nothing more is necessary to redeem mankind from error and sin and ensure their happiness, than that those precepts should be universally obeyed, and that example of purity, patience, long suffering, magnanimity and forgiveness of injuries universally followed.

We recognize as the most precious of all the gifts conferred upon us by our beneficent Father, the Religious Element which he has so deeply implanted in our nature, which awakens in us the desire for perfection and leads us to aspire after all that is noble, generous and good, and which, operating through our social nature, prompts us to assemble together, as we have opportunity, to edify one another in love, to labor for each other's purity and peace, and to combine our efforts for the promotion of practical Christianity and the realization of the Universal Brotherhood of the human race.—That this element of man's nature has often been and is still grossly perverted—that priestcraft in all ages has enveloped it in clouds of superstition and obstructed its healthful manifestations by absurd and slavish customs, creeds and forms, is a fact too palpable to be denied. We could not shut our eyes to it if we would, and we would not if we could. But we derive comfort and encouragement from the belief that the errors of the past are being dissipated by the rays of truth, and that mankind are beginning to see the beauty and to feel the power of principles long buried under the rubbish of sectarianism and enshrouded in the thick darkness of a false theology. May the light which is thus beginning to dawn upon the pathway of humanity grow brighter and brighter unto the perfect day!

In forming a new Religious Association, we have felt an anxious solicitude to avoid the errors which have to a great extent proved fatal to the usefulness of similar organizations in times past, and often made them fearful engines of despotism and mischief. We have sought to lay its foundations in immutable truth, and to adapt it to the highest principles and wants of human nature. We have endeavored to make our platform as wide as humanity and broad as our social relations and our individual responsibilities. It has been the cherished purpose of our hearts, not to forge shackles for the human mind, nor to impose the slightest restraint upon men in their efforts to discover truth and dissipate error, but to aid in breaking every fetter of superstition, every yoke of bigotry and every chain of political and ecclesiastical domination. That our association, in its principles and structure, is free from error, is more than we dare even to hope. We set up no claim of infallibility.—We have simply followed the highest light vouchsafed to us at the present time, and we avow to the world our deliberate purpose, as individuals and as an association, to search for truth as a treasure more precious than rubies, to embrace it as fast as we can discover it, and to do all in our power to diffuse it among our fellow-men, regardless of opinions previously held and of prejudices previously entertained. If, in process of time, it shall appear that the terms of membership upon which we are now agreed, broad as they are, are yet too narrow to meet the wants of mankind; or, if it shall be found that they operate as a restriction upon human freedom and a hindrance to the progress of truth, it will be our duty to alter or abolish them. At present it seems clear to us that, in seeking the co-operation of all who look to God as a Universal Father and recognize the Brotherhood of the whole Human Family and the binding obligation of the Golden Rule, we have built a platform wide enough

to embrace every one who has at heart the interest and the happiness of his fellow-men. As we do not mean to fetter ourselves with a creed or system of theology, so also is it not our intention to impose a yoke upon posterity. We aim to do our own work in our own day and generation, and to do it by such instrumentalities as seem to us adapted to the end we have in view, leaving those who shall come after us, and who we hope will be wiser and better than we are, to amend or discard our plans, as to them may seem good. Painful experience has taught us that the church organizations of our fathers, though framed, we doubt not, according to their best wisdom, are not suited to the wants of the present age; and as we do not admit that they had any right to prescribe terms and principles of association to bind our consciences or control our judgments, so do we disclaim any right or desire to bind the consciences or control the judgments of those to whom our work may be transmitted.—Truth and Right are immutable and unchangeable, for they are of God, but human organizations, however important or sacred may be their objects, must be changed, in conformity with the law of human progress, to suit the varying wants and circumstances of the race.

We are astonished at the tenacity with which so many among us cling to the creeds, the organizations and disciplines of the past, as if they were almost too sacred for examination, and as if to repudiate them were a sacrilege too appalling to be contemplated without a shudder. We would not recklessly destroy the work of the fathers, nor are we unmindful of the truth that our own freedom of thought and speech, and much of the light that illumines our pathway is the fruit of their earnest toils and sacrifices for the promotion of truth and goodness. We gratefully acknowledge them as our helpers; but we cannot accept them as our masters; and we are persuaded that we shall best honor their memories, not by blindly following in their footsteps, but by 'minding the light' which God has kindled in our hearts no less than in theirs. The reverence due to truth cannot be bestowed upon any work of man without producing serious mischief. Church organizations are only a means, of which truth and righteousness are the end. Let not the greater be sacrificed to the less, the Divine be subordinated to the human.

The master error, as it seems to us, of nearly all the church organization of the past and present time is, that they have attempted to find a bond of union, not in the affinities of man's nature and the love enjoined by the gospel of Christ, but in uniformity of theological opinions. All history teaches us that such uniformity is impossible, and that the attempt to realize it is fatal to all spiritual life. The church which is united by this bond is only frozen together, and its elements must be dissolved by the rays of truth or broken in pieces by external force. If a title of the labor which has been expended in the vain and preposterous efforts to adjust human opinions to the arbitrary lines and grotesque angles of human creeds, had been devoted to works of practical goodness and the fulfillment of the law of charity, the world might ere this have been relieved of an incalculable amount of ignorance, wretchedness and sin. Christ has enjoined us to "seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness," but the popular church requires us to "seek first" after theology. It presents its hard skeletons of doctrine, in which there is no breath of spiritual life, and requires us to embrace them as the condition of religious fellowship. It expends almost its whole energies in the defence of abstract doctrines, the belief of which neither ensures purity of life nor promotes the happiness of man, while it leaves the best affections of human nature to be choked by the weeds of sin, or trampled upon by the heel of arbitrary power.

The religion of Christ is not a system of fine-spun theological abstractions, but a religion of love. It presents us not doctrines to be believed, but duties to be done. It deals primarily with the heart rather than with the head, with the life and conduct rather than with the convictions of the intellect. It does not indeed teach us that theological opinions are of no consequence, but it makes them subordinate to the duties growing out of human relations and enforced by human necessities and wants. In the teachings of Christ how little do we find of prescribed formularies of faith and doctrine—how much, on the other hand, to remind us of our obligations to labor for the good of humanity, and to rebuke us for our coldness and want of zeal in this important work.—Plainly as the path of duty is marked in the precepts of Jesus, a still more resplendent light beams upon it from his example. How striking, how comprehensive is the testimony of one of the apostles of his religion: "HE WENT ABOUT DOING GOOD." Under whatever circumstances he was placed, his mind and heart were absorbed in the grand idea of the redemption of mankind from every form of degradation and sin, and introducing them to a state of perfect happiness and peace.—How copiously gushed from his pure, warm heart the streams of affection and sympathy by which he sought to comfort the broken-hearted and the oppressed; how readily did he minister to the wants of the poor and the afflicted; and with what sternness and self-abnegation did he rebuke the wrong-doer, shielded by public opinion or clad in the mail of political or ecclesiastical authority!

No dangers appalled, no terrors daunted him in bearing witness of the truth. He endured with heroic patience and calmness the scoffs and insults of those for whose well-being he so constantly labored, and in the very shadow of the cross, while the fires of human passion were burning around him with lurid glare, his serenity forsook him not, as with majestic tenderness he breathed the prayer, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." In these characteristics of his life we trace the lineaments of his religion and read the lesson of our own duties and obligations.

In forming an association for moral and religious purposes, our minds are haunted by no dreams of a heaven-ordained corporation, with ministers, elders, overseers and other officials, clothed with special divine authority and lifted above the people as their rulers and guides. With our whole hearts, and in the light derived from a long and bitter experience, we repudiate such arrangements, and proclaim the equality of all men, irrespective of sex, color or outward condition. We rely not upon elaborately framed rules of discipline, but upon the regulator which God has placed in the individual soul, upon the instinctive sense of right and wrong in the heart of man, and the operation of the law of kindness and forbearance, to preserve order in our assemblies. If these shall be found inadequate, we are certain that the remedy is not to be sought in any outward rules, however ingeniously constructed. We reject as absurd the idea that the religion of Christ is contrary to man's nature and needs to be forced upon him by external laws.—God is not at war with himself. He has not written one law in the hearts of his children, and another in the religion which he offers for their acceptance.

As a Yearly Meeting, we shall exercise no ecclesiastical authority over local bodies.—We assume no other than advisory power. We shall, from time to time, declare our convictions on such subjects as may claim our attention, leaving other associations and individuals to judge for themselves how far those convictions are entitled to their respect and adoption. We have seen the blighting and soul-crushing effects of the system by which large bodies make laws for smaller associations and hold them amenable to a central power—a power too often wielded by a few ambitious men who aspire to leadership and arbitrary sway in the Church.—We would avoid, so far as possible, the evils, which have resulted from this system, and therefore we propose to leave each local association to make such arrangements for the transaction of its business and the edification of its members as to it may seem good. The different habits, associations and experiences of different communities will require corresponding variations in the means to be used for securing the advantages of religious society. The arrangements suited to one place may not be adapted to the special wants of another. We do not regard it as consistent with the freedom and self-respect of those whose local proximity and spiritual affinity for each other impels them to organize for the purpose of maintaining religious meetings, to submit to be governed by a foreign body. The responsibility of regulating their assemblies should rest upon themselves, and they cannot safely transfer it to other shoulders.

We are constrained to advise the friends of Practical Christianity in every town and neighborhood, wherever practicable, to associate together in some form to aid each other in the search for truth, to cultivate and enlarge the social and religious elements of their nature, to strengthen and encourage each other in the performance of duty, and to exert a healthful and beneficent influence upon their neighbors. Regular meetings on the First day of the week, if rightly conducted, cannot fail to do great good. We do not claim any sacredness for the day, nor would we assert it to be the absolute duty of any individual to attend such a meeting. Let there be on this point, as on every other, the utmost freedom of opinion. We recommend such meetings, not as divinely prescribed institutions, but simply as means adapted to meet our social and religious wants. Especially would we advise those who may establish such meetings to guard against the danger of their becoming scenes of contention and pernicious controversy. Let them carefully avoid 'foolish and unlearned questions' and the mazes of speculative theology, which gender strife, and give their attention to the laws of God as written in man's nature, to the culture and exercise of charity toward each other and toward the race, and to the relief of the poor, the sick, the unfortunate and the oppressed. Let them seek, by all appropriate means, to apply the practical precepts of Christianity to the individual heart and conscience and to all human concerns and relations. Let them assail with the weapons of truth every institution and every system which tends to degrade, oppress and enslave humanity. Let them lift up a testimony against every form of iniquity and wrong, entering into no compromise with sin and no unholy alliance with oppressors. Let them make the poor and the afflicted of God's children feel that in them as individuals and as associations they have friends who will stand by them in every emergency and succor them under every trial. In these works of charity and mercy they will find a bond of union compared with which all the creeds and ceremonials of a false Church are but cords of flax.

We have been impelled to enter upon this new organization in consequence of the moral delinquencies of existing sects. In our efforts to banish the evils of intemperance, to break the chains of the slave, to demolish the gallows, to abolish the horrid customs of war, to promote the equality of the sexes, to remove the giant evils of land monopoly and the aristocracy of wealth, and to restore to the laborer his rights, we have found those sects arrayed against us and seeking to throw the shield of religion over hoary crimes and social abuses which are at war alike with the laws of God and the rights of man. In such circumstances we had no alternative but to forego the advantages and reciprocities of religious associations, or to organize upon such a basis as our wants seemed to require. We have taken the course which seemed to us wisest and best, and we calmly submit our work to the test of time and experience.

We have taken the name of "PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS," a name suggested by the history of our movement. While our organization it is broad as humanity, it is yet a fact that most of those who have taken part in its formation are Friends, and that name is endeared to them by many hallowed associations! In retaining it we mean to proclaim to the world that, in casting aside the husks of Quakerism, we yet retain an abiding attachment for its fundamental testimonies, and that our intention is to maintain them by all proper and rightful means. We have adopted the term "Progressive," to avoid being confounded with other societies, and as an appropriate recognition of the truth that the law of progress is applicable alike to individuals and associations. If our descendants, in disregard of the obligations imposed by this law, shall be found restricting their vision by our limited knowledge of truth, and hedging up the way of reform by a superstitious adherence to the arrangements adopted by us, we would have them feel themselves rebuked in the very name by which we have chosen to designate our society.

In conclusion, we invite the friends of truth and goodness, whatever may be their views of dogmatic theology, to unite with us in our efforts to promote the happiness of the human family, and to diffuse the principles of pure and undefiled religion throughout the world. Let the fathers and mothers, whose heads are whitened with the frost of age, give us the benefit of their ripe experience and benignant counsels; let those in the maturity and vigor of life, with their clear visions and sinewy strength, aid us in doing battle against the host of falsehood and sin; and let the young cheer us with their fresh courage, their dauntless spirit and their buoyant hopes. Then indeed, if we prove faithful to our high profession, shall we be as salt which has not lost its savor and as a city set upon a hill whose light cannot be hid.

## Swedish Mother's Hymn.

Mary Howitt, (gentle Mary Howitt, as she is sometimes called,) has translated from a favorite Swedish author, the following beautiful hymn, sung by a mother to her children just before the parting "good night."

There slither a dove so white and fair,  
All on the lily spray,  
And she listeneth low to Jesus Christ  
The little children pray.  
Lightly she spreads her friendly wings,  
And to Heaven's gate hath sped,  
And unto the Father in Heaven she bears  
The prayers which the children have said.  
And hark she comes from Heaven's gate,  
And brings—tho' that dove so mild—  
From the Father in Heaven who hears her  
speak,  
A blessing on every child.  
Then children lift up a pious prayer,  
It hears whatever you say,  
That heavenly dove so white and fair,  
All on the lily spray.

A wit not easily silenced. M. Sadlier, the Viennese humorist, demanded, on his trial, whether it was treasonable to repeat the Lord's Prayer, for the words, "deliver us from evil," might be construed into a prayer to get rid of the Government!

On presenting a petition for the protection of sole leather, a gentleman of the Illinois Legislature "busted" out as follows:

"When, Mr. Speaker, we consider the march of intellect in these United States, and I may say Confederate States, and see how the Genius of Liberty soars in her vast expanse, stretching her eagle plumes from the Pacific ocean to Mount Point, gazing with eyes of fire on the ruins of Empires, the magnitude of the question on which we are now clogging rises in the reluctant east, with a glorious reality, that proclaims that the artisans of Bullockburgh have a fresh sun rising over their town vats." It is useless to say that the bill passed.

ORIGIN OF PETER-PENCE.—It was a tax which originated in England, of a penny upon every house which contained twenty pennyworths of any kind of goods, and was paid to the Pope. It was anciently called Rome fee, Rome penny, Rome scot, Denarii S. petri, and Census Petri.

It was originated with the Saxons in the year 720, was discontinued by Edward III, revived by Richard II, and terminated on the Reformation. It was a collection from among the faithful, to pay the personal expenses of the Pope.

Consider well before you start; then persevere.

## Agents for the Bugle.

The following named persons are requested and authorized to act as agents for the Bugle in their respective localities.

Chas. Douglass, Berea, Cuyahoga county, Ohio.  
Timothy Woodworth, Litchfield, Medina co., O.  
Wm. Payne, Richfield, Summit co., Ohio.  
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March 3, 1852.

## LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

Extracts of Letters from Judge Story, Chancellor Kent, and President Adams.

CAMBRIDGE, April 24, 1844.

I have read the prospectus with great pleasure, and entirely approve the plan. If it can only obtain the public patronage long enough, and large enough, and securely enough to attain its true ends, it will contribute in an eminent degree to give a healthy tone not only to our literature, but to public opinion. It will enable us to possess in a moderate compass a select library of the best productions of the age. It will do more; it will redress our periodical literature from the reproach of being devoted to light and superficial reading, to transitory speculations, to sickly and ephemeral sentimentalities, and false and extravagant sketches of life and character.

JOSEPH STORY.

NEW YORK, 7th May, 1844.  
I approve very much of the plan of the 'Living Age,' and if it be conducted with the intelligence, spirit and taste that the prospectus indicates, (of which I have no reason to doubt,) it will be one of the most instructive and popular periodicals of the day.

JAMES KENT.

WASHINGTON, 27th Dec., 1844.  
Of all the periodical journals devoted to literature and science which abound in Europe and in this country, this has appeared to me the most useful. It contains indeed the exposition only of the current literature of the English language, but this by its immense extent and comprehensiveness, includes a portrait of the human mind in the utmost expansion of the present age.

J. Q. ADAMS.

## PROSPECTUS.

This work is conducted in the spirit of Litell's Museum of Foreign Literature, (which was favorably received by the public for twenty years), but as it is twice as large, and appears so often, we not only give spirit and freshness to it by many things which were excluded by a month's delay, but while we are thus extending our scope and gathering a greater and more attractive variety, are able so to increase the solid and substantial part of our literary, historical, and political harvest, as fully to satisfy the wants of the American reader.

The elaborate and statey Essays of the Edinburgh Quarterly, and other Reviews and Blackwood's noble criticisms on Poetry, his keen political Commentaries, highly wrought Tales and vivid descriptions of rural and mountain scenery; and the contributions to Literature, History, and Common Life, by the sagacious Spectator, the sparkling Examiner, the judicious Athenaeum, the busy and industrious Gazette, the sensible and comprehensive Britannia, the sober and respectable Christian Observer; these are interwoven with the Military and Naval reminiscences of the United Service, and with the best articles of the Dublin University, New Monthly, Fraser's, Tatler, Annals, Hood's, and Sporting Magazines, and of Chamber's admirable Journal. We do not consider it beneath our dignity to borrow wit and wisdom from Punch; and, when we think it good enough, to make use of the thunder of The Times. We shall increase our variety of importations from the continent of Europe, and from the new growth of the British Colonies.

We hope that, by winnowing the wheat from the chaff, by providing abundantly for the imagination, and by a large collection of Biography, Voyages, Travels, History, and more solid matter, we may produce a work which shall be popular, while at the same time it will aspire to raise the standard of public taste.

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MARIUS R. HUDSON.

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